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and died and therefore they (the Winnebago) have passed here.' 173
Likewise, if you build a fire, always cover up the embers, for if you 648
should throw away any into the water (you would be detected)."

Then they went away in boats and returned to the lake. When they came to the narrow place where the main body of water lies there they went ahead along the left branch. Now this is all of this.

After a while the tribes came to see the Frenchman, for it was about the time fixed, and they said, "How have you been getting along?" Then he said, "Children, you know what kind of people the Winnebago are. We watched them very closely, but they got away, in what direction I do not even know. In the morning they were gone. I believe they went downstream, although I haven't even hunted for them upstream."

Well, all these different tribes looked for the Winnebago, for they wished to trail them and kill them. Now, although the Frenchman had expressly forbidden them, sure enough (the Foxes) found a fish that had been speared. "They've come past here," they said. However, when they came to the fork of the stream they didn't know which way (the Winnebago) had gone, but they noticed embers in the water. "They've gone by here." As it was impossible to go to the end of the stream in boats, all the half-breed Foxes got out (and walked). Soon they saw the oval lodges. "There they are," they said. For that reason the Foxes carefully looked them over and watched them. They inquired about them and found out that they had passed by.

The road (trail) was visible, so they chased them. Soon a cold autumn spell overtook them and they (the enemy) gave up the chase and returned home.

We will not follow the course of Winnebago history through all 114
its vicissitudes from their defeat by the Foxes to the British and 175
American occupancy, but only indicate important facts. An important local event was the coming of the Frenchman Decora among them and his marriage to the daughter of the chief of the tribe. An account of this has been preserved by the Decora family, although it is clearly mixed up with what we believe is an account of the first contact of the Winnebago with the French.

HOW THE WINNEBAGO FIRST CAME INTO CONTACT WITH THE FRENCH AND THE ORIGIN OF THE DECORA FAMILY

The Winnebago originated at a place called Red Banks (Green 173
Bay, Wis.) (pl. 1). They had no tools to work with at that time. All they had were bows and arrows and a fire-starter. They had no iron, and if they saw a stone that was naturally sharpened in any way it was considered sacred and they offered tobacco for it. They had [576]
tobacco from the beginning. It was their most valued possession.

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173 [183] They fasted and became holy. The greatest honor was to be a brave man, and for that reason they did nothing but go to war. They were prepared for war at all times. They tried to obtain war honors. They wished to go to war all the time and kill many enemies. If a person fasted and went without food for a long time, gave offerings of tobacco often, and was then blessed by the spirits, then it would be very hard to kill such a person in battle. The people knew that such powers could be obtained, and that is why they did these things all the time.

[182] They gave many feasts. When a person gives a feast, then he offers the spirits tobacco and asks in return that their weapons be sharper than those of their enemies (i. e., that he kill an enemy and escape unharmed). That is why they used to give so many feasts, that they might be victorious in war. They make offerings to the war spirits, and if these then bless them they will become great warriors. They desired greatly to obtain these blessings.

173 ●276 Tobacco is the greatest possession they have. After Earthmaker created all things he created man. Man was the last of the created objects. Those created before were spirits, and he put them all in charge of something. Even the smallest insects are able to foresee things four days ahead. The human beings were the least of all Earthmaker's creations. They were put in charge of nothing, and they could not even foresee one day ahead. They were the last created and they were the poorest. Then Earthmaker created a weed with a pleasant odor and all the spirits wanted it. Some were almost certain that it would be given to them. They would each think to themselves, "I am going to be put in charge of that, for I am one of the greatest spirits in the world." Then the Creator said, "To all of you (spirits) I have given something valuable. Now you all like this weed and I myself like it. Now this is the way it is going to be used." Then he took one of the leaves and mashed it up. Then making a pipe he smoked it and the odor was pleasant to smell. All of the spirits longed for it. Then he gave each one of them a puff. "Now, whatever (the human beings) ask from me and for which they offer tobacco, I will not be able to refuse it. I myself will not be in control of this weed. If they give me a pipeful of this and make a request I will not be able to refuse it. This weed will be called tobacco. The human beings are the only ones of my creation who are poor. I did not give them anything, so therefore this will be their foremost possession and from them we will have to obtain it. If a human being gives a pipeful and makes a request we will always grant it." Thus spoke Earthmaker.

For that reason the human beings are in control of tobacco; it is their natural possession. This is the story that was handed down to us. The Winnebago made war and made many offerings of tobacco. It is said that the Winnebago were the bravest of all the Indians.

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JOHN FISHER

[Facing p. 66 (D)]

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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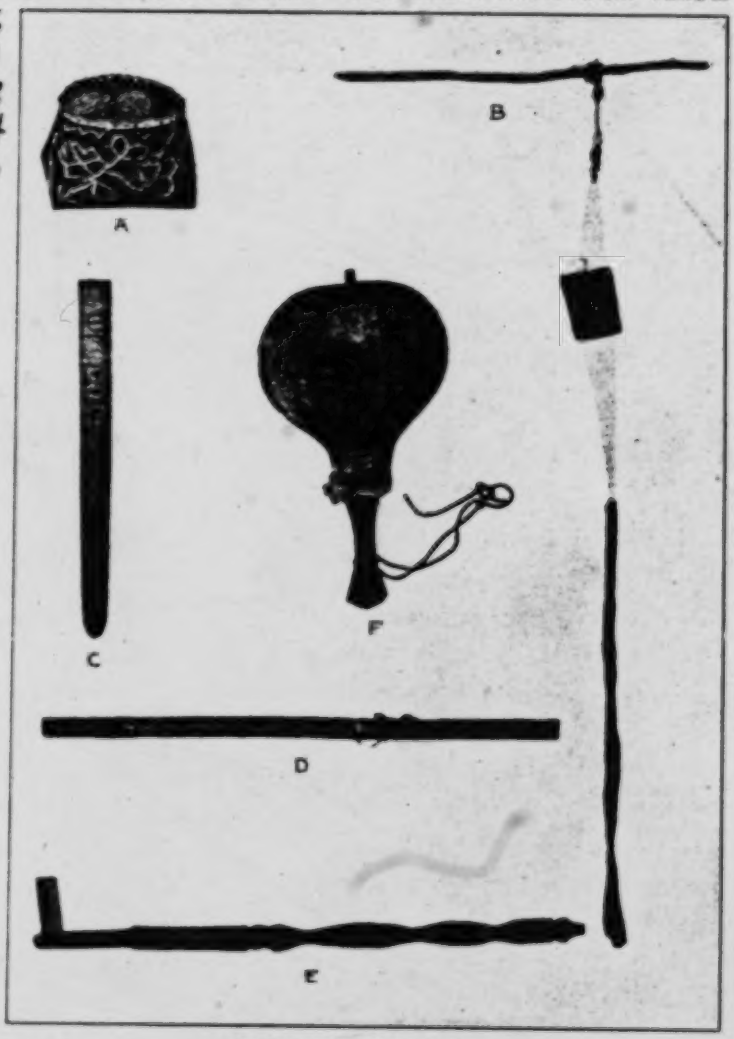

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

a. Birch-bark receptacle.
b. Frame for stringing beads.
c. Staff with personal markings.
d. Wooden flute.
e. Catlinite pipe.
f. Gourd rattle.

[Facing p 108(H)]

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and being very careful not to look back toward the grave after they had first started. 764

The same evening the four nights' wake began. The overseer, who was in full charge, had everything prepared. Before the wake formally commenced the chief mourner made a short speech. Then the overseer lighted a pipe and passed it around to all, who took a puff each and returned it to him. Then sweetened water was passed around, of which all partook. The feast followed. Taking on a plate a small portion of all the food to be eaten, the overseer threw it outside for the spirit of the deceased. In the case of a nursling the mother added a small quantity of milk from her breast to the other food on the plate. After the feast the chief mourner made another speech, explaining why the rites were performed and how they had been handed down for many generations. He concluded by thanking the people for all they had done for him. 765 776 782

There was always an abundance of tobacco at a wake. Most of it was given to the warriors, a number of whom were invited, for they played a very important rôle on such an occasion. It was believed that every warrior was in control of the spirit of an enemy he had slain and he was supposed always to be willing to put the spirit at the service of any member of his tribe who had just died, if the proper offerings were made. At the proper time tobacco was given to the warrior, who, rising, narrated his war exploits, at the conclusion of which he ordered the spirit of the enemy he had slain to take charge of the deceased. Then tobacco was given to another warrior, who followed the same procedure, which was continued until midnight. Then most of the people departed to their homes, but some stayed overnight in the lodge in which the wake was held. 431 276 775

The proceedings of the second and third nights of the wake were exactly the same as those of the first, but somewhat longer. The beginning of the ceremony on the fourth night was the same as on the three preceding nights; after a while, however, it deviated in the following manner.

J. F., rising, tells the spirit of the departed the road he is to take in his journey to spirit land, the obstacles he is to meet, and how he is to overcome them. After he has finished the warriors begin to tell some more war exploits, and this continues generally until 3 o'clock in the morning, depending entirely upon the amount of gifts given to the warriors. The gifts generally consist either of 12 pieces of calico each 3 yards, or of beads, or of 12 quarter dollars. The warriors always gamble for these gifts and play the favorite game of the deceased. If a man had died they generally play moccasins; if a woman, hoops. When all the presents have been exhausted, then the relatives of the deceased comb the 775 431 525 524

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867 593 563 776 My son, never abuse your wife. The women are sacred. If you abuse your wife and make her life miserable, you will die early. Our grandmother, the earth, is a woman, and in mistreating your wife you will be mistreating her. Most assuredly will you be abusing our grandmother if you act thus. And as it is she that is taking care of us you will really be killing yourself by such behavior.

867 574 My son, when you keep house, should anyone enter your house, no matter who it is, be sure to offer him whatever you have in the house. Any food that you withhold at such a time will most assuredly become a source of death to you. If you are stingy about giving food the people will kill you on this account. They will poison you. If you hear of a traveler who is visiting your people and you wish to see him, prepare your table for him and have him sent for. In this manner you will be acting correctly. It is always good to act correctly and do good, the old people used to say.

867 888 If you see an old, helpless person, help him with whatever you possess. Should you happen to possess a home and you take him there, he might suddenly say abusive things about you during the middle of the meal. You will be strengthened by such words. This same traveler may, on the contrary, give you something that [778] he carries under his arms and which he treasures very highly. If it is an object without a stem,[18] keep it to protect your house. If you thus keep it within your house, your home will never be molested by any bad spirits. Nothing will be able to enter your house unexpectedly. Thus you will live. Witches, instead of entering your house, will pass around it. If, in addition to possessing this medicine, you also fast, your people will be benefited by it greatly.

867 773 776 Earthmaker made spirits up above and some he made to live on this earth; and again some he made to live under the water and some to live in the water; and all these he put in charge of something. Even the small animals that move about this earth the creator put in charge of some power. Thus he created them. Afterwards he created us human beings and as he had exhausted all the powers to be disposed of we were not in control of anything. Then he made a weed and placed it in our charge. And he said that no matter how powerful are the spirits that exist they would not be able to take this weed from us without giving something in return. [774] He himself, Earthmaker, would not be able to demand it for nothing. So he spoke. This weed was the tobacco plant. Earthmaker said that if we would offer a pipeful of tobacco to him, whatever we should ask of him he would immediately grant. Not only he, but all the [782] spirits created, longed to have some of this tobacco. It is for this reason that when we fast and cry piteously for some spirit to take pity on us, if we give them tobacco they will bless us with those

[18] A plant without a stem, presumably some root, used for warding off danger.

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"My son, we first originated in human form at Bad Lake (de cicik').* From four buffalo spirits who are there, did we originate. The youngest one was clever and from him did we originate. The buffaloes asked one another what they were to do, and they then began to exert their powers, and the youngest one obtained the knowledge that there was to be a gathering of all the animals. So they all landed at a place called Red Banks. So it is said. And to the elk was given the charge of the seating arrangements. 614 539 776

"Thus did we originate. And then they counciled with one another as to how they should travel along the road of life. And as they arrived at Red Banks, each one would ask the other to do some work. And there they made a sacred (covenant)—that they would never fail to grant one another's requests. Likewise they agreed that when they died they would bury one another. The Buffalo clan and the Water-spirit clan were to bury one another, and they were to ask one another to work." [764]

CLAN SONGS

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Song 1

Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.
Finally you have cried. I heard you.

Song 2

This earth you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

Song 3

This day you have made me hear.
Finally you have cried.
You have made me hear.
You have made me hear.

"My son, here is some more information that one in your position should seek. This should be the second thing to ask for: 'What should one say when one gives a feast?' This you should ask for, and you should boil food for the informant and then you will be taught the proper speeches. Afterwards, when anyone boils food (i. e., gives a winter feast) a kettle should first be put on for Earth-maker and one should ask him for life; that the people may live to be strong and good. Include tobacco in your offering, for although Earthmaker made the tobacco he will not take any of it of his own accord. Not until it is offered to him by humans will he take it. 867 [782] [276] [103]

* This name de cicik is applied to-day to Lake Michigan. However, our informant in this case applied it to Devils Lake in Sauk County, Wis.

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867 782 276 Thus he made the tobacco so that humans may ask life with it, and he will grant them their desires. This is all."

CLAN NAMES

THE HIN'IE'ARAIJERA (BUFFALO CLAN)

614 551
Morstegs.....He who travels the land.
Teanimaniwings.....She who walks ahead.
Teraniksigs.....Suckling buffalo calf.
Teras.....Buffalo.
Terap'anu"pgs.....Two buffalo heads.
Teetra"iwings.....First buffalo.
Teelojeninjk'a.....Buffalo yearling.
Teeloninjk'a.....Young buffalo bull.
Teeniganedegs.....Big female buffalo.
Wirukanangs.....He who is in control.
Hobekmanigs?.....Shaggy walker.
Teebatcowings.....Buffalo hide blue.
Mangikaantegs.....Shakes the earth by striking
Terap'ags.....Buffalo head.
Manok'aruhigs.....Kicking up the earth.

THE DEER CLAN

INTRODUCTION

614 173 The first version of the origin myth of the Deer clan is in part like that of version 6 of the Bear clan origin myth and in part like that of version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth. It is the only myth that shares with version 1 of the Thunderbird origin myth the account of the origin of death.

614 The Deer clan does not seem to have had any important functions, although in myth 1, it is stated that they claimed a "partial" chieftainship, whatever that may mean.

[577] It was considered an insult to tell a member of this clan that he resembled a deer.

[302] The facial painting is the same as that used for the Elk clan. (Pl. 46.)

[826 761] The Deer clan people tell one another not to sing their clan song very loudly, and also not to make any sudden movement of their limbs, for each movement might cause the death of a human being. For the same reason they are told not to weep too loudly, as each deer's limb is a symbol of one of the four directions. When, therefore, a Deer clansman moves a limb too hard when he is weeping over the decease of a member of his clan, he might be "putting some human being in the earth," and the wind would blow hard.

[552] The dog names obtained were *vankcigohonigs* and *na"natcpigs*.

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756 (1) Entrance ritual: The band enters the tent, makes one com-
796 plete circuit, and stops. The leader now delivers a short speech, followed by a song. The band then continues to the west end, where another speech is delivered and another song sung. After this the band continues again, and stops at the east end, where the leader talks and sings. Now all sit down. After a short pause the leader again rises and walking over to the ancestor host, talks to him, gives him some tobacco, and returns to his seat. Each band entering repeats the same ritual. This applies, however, only to Part IV (*a*) and (*b*).

(2) Exit ritual (Part IV (*a*) and (*b*)): The east leader rises and speaks, followed by north, west, and south. Each one then speaks again and, all singing, all walk toward the entrance in such a way that the south, north, and west bands make complete circuits of the lodge, thus enabling the east band to precede them. Near the entrance all stop singing and say "*ee-hi-hi-hi*" four times and pass out. This exit ceremony differs slightly in the two divisions of IV.

(3) Fire ritual, Part III: The ancestor host rises and goes to the leaders of the four other bands individually; and after he has blessed them they respond; then all rise, make four circuits of the lodge, and sit down again. The leader of the east band now rises, holding in his hand the invitation sticks and some tobacco, delivers a speech, then goes to the fireplace and kindles the new fire.

[782 (3) Smoking ritual: The leader of the east band pours tobacco
● 276] into the fire, first at the east, and then at the north, west, and south corners. He then lights his pipe, puffs first toward the east, then toward the north, west, and south, after which he passes his pipe to the leader of the north band, who takes a few whiffs and in turn passes it around to the next member of the lodge. When the pipe has made the complete circuit it is placed in front of the fireplace. In the meantime the ancestor host has returned to his seat, and after a short pause, rises, speaks, and sings again. This smoking ceremony occurs after each entrance ceremony, IV (*a*) and (*b*), and before both feasts of IV (*a*) and (*b*).

Presentation-of-food ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*).—The leader of the east band rises and brings meat, berries, wild potatoes, etc., to the ancestor host, delivering a minor speech at the same time. Each of the other leaders repeats the same ceremony. When all have finished, the ancestor host rises and thanks them.

(5) General shooting ritual (Part IV, *a* and *b*): The leaders of the east, north, west, and south bands, holding their otter skins in their hands, rise and, accompanied by three men, make a complete circuit of the lodge. They first speak in undertones to these three men, giving them directions. At each end the leader of the east band speaks, and then, singing, walks toward the west end, saying "yoke—

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CHAPTER XVI

THE PEYOTE CULT

General Description

794 Owing to the great importance of one of the modern cults found among the Winnebago, the so-called Mescal or Peyote, it will be discussed here in some detail. Not only is this cult of great prominence in the life of the modern Winnebago, but as its inception and progress can be followed out in considerable detail it is of great significance for the study of their religion.

[346] The ceremony is generally held in a building called by the Peyote worshipers a church, although it frequently takes place in the open also. In the early days of its organization as many meetings as possible were held. In 1910 there was a tendency to restrict the number and to have them generally take place on Saturday night. In 1913, after the first enthusiasm of the new converts had died out, the author was informed that the meetings were rarely held more than once a week. Around Christmas and beginning with July a series of meetings was held, lasting from a week to 10 days, as a rule. The Christmas meetings were not prominent in 1910, but the July ones seem to have been held from the beginning. They represent, of course, merely a substitution for the older pagan ceremonies and games that were held about that time.

796 794 [533] In the early days the ceremony was opened by a prayer from the founder, and this was followed by an introductory speech. Thereupon the leader sang a Peyote song, to the accompaniment of a drum. Then another speech was delivered, and when it was finished the drum and other regalia were passed to the man to the right. This man, in turn, delivered a speech and sang a song, and when he was finished, passed the regalia to the third man, who subsequently passed it to the fourth one. The fourth man, when he was finished, returned it to the leader. In this way the regalia passed from one person to another throughout the night. It not infrequently happens that one of these four gets tired and gives up his place temporarily to some other member of the cult. At intervals they stopped to eat [376] or drink peyote. At about midnight the peyote, as a rule, begins to affect some people. These generally arise and deliver self-accusatory [563] speeches, and make more or less formal confessions, after which they go around shaking hands with everyone and asking forgiveness.

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, a) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, b; 55, b), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hupke* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion

During 1903–04 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters.

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for

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159 a live thing seemed to have entered me. "Why did I do it?" I thought
794 to myself. I should not have done it, for right at the beginning I
276 have harmed myself. Indeed, I should not have done it. I am sure
786 it will injure me. The best thing will be for me to vomit it up. Well, now, I will try it. After a few attempts I gave up. I thought to myself, "Well, now you have done it. You have been going around trying everything and now you have done something that has harmed you. What is it? It seems to be alive and moving around in my stomach. If only some of my own people were here! That would have been better. Now no one will know what has happened to me. I have killed myself."

Just then the object was about to come out. It seemed almost out and I put out my hand to feel it, but then it went back again. "O, my, I should never have done it from the beginning. Never again will I do it. I am surely going to die."

As we continued it became day and we laughed. Before that I had been unable to laugh.

The following night we were to eat peyote again. I thought to myself, "Last night it almost harmed me." "Well, let us do it again," they said. "All right, I'll do it." So there we ate seven peyote apiece.

Suddenly I saw a big snake. I was very much frightened. Then another one came crawling over me. "My God! where are these coming from?" There at my back there seemed to be something. So I looked around and I saw a snake about to swallow me entirely. It had legs and arms and a long tail. The end of this tail was like a spear. "O, my God! I am surely going to die now," I thought. Then I looked again in another direction and I saw a man with horns and long claws and with a spear in his hand. He jumped for me and I threw myself on the ground. He missed me. Then I looked back and this time he started back, but it seemed to me that he was directing his spear at me. Again I threw myself on the ground and he missed me. There seemed to be no possible escape for me. Then suddenly it occurred to me, "Perhaps it is this peyote that is doing this thing to me!" "Help me, O medicine, help me! It is you who are doing this and you are holy! It is not these frightful visions that are causing this. I should have known that you were doing it. Help me!" Then my suffering stopped. "As long as the earth shall last, that long will I make use of you, O medicine!"

This had lasted a night and a day. For a whole night I had not slept at all.

Then we breakfasted. Then I said, when we were through, "Let us eat peyote again to-night." That evening I ate eight peyote.

In the middle of the night I saw God. To God living up above, our Father, I prayed. "Have mercy upon me! Give me knowledge

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that I may not say and do evil things. To you, O God, I am trying to pray. Do thou, O Son of God, help me, too. This religion, let me know. Help me, O medicine, grandfather, help me! Let me know this religion!" Thus I spoke and sat very quiet. And then I beheld the morning star and it was good to look upon. The light was good to look upon. I had been frightened during the night but now I was happy. Now as the light appeared, it seemed to me that nothing would be invisible to me. I seemed to see everything clearly. Then I thought of my home and as I looked around, there I saw the house in which I lived far away among the Winnebago, quite close to me. There at the window I saw my children playing. Then I saw a man going to my house carrying a jug of whisky. Then he gave them something to drink and the one that had brought the whisky got drunk and bothered my people. Finally he ran away. "So, that is what they are doing," I thought to myself. Then I beheld my wife come and stand outside of the door, wearing a red blanket. She was thinking of going to the flagpole and was wondering which road she should take. "If I take this road I am likely to meet some people, but if I take the other road, I am not likely to meet anyone."

Indeed, it is good. They are all well — my brother, my sister, my father, my mother. I felt very good indeed. O medicine, grandfather, most assuredly you are holy! All that is connected with you, that I would like to know and that I would like to understand. Help me! I give myself up to you entirely!

For three days and three nights I had been eating medicine, and for three days and three nights I had not slept. Throughout all the years that I had lived on earth, I now realized that I had never known anything holy. Now, for the first time, I knew it. Would that some of the Winnebagoes might also know it!

Many years ago I had been sick and it looked as if this illness were going to kill me. I tried all the Indian doctors and then I tried all of the white man's medicines, but they were of no avail. "I am doomed. I wonder whether I will be alive next year." Such were the thoughts that came to me. As soon as I ate the peyote, however, I got over my sickness. After that I was not sick again. My wife had suffered from the same disease, and I told her that if she ate this medicine it would surely cure her. But she was afraid, although she had never seen it before. She knew that I used it, but nevertheless she was afraid of it. Her sickness was getting worse and worse and one day I said to her, "You are sick. It is going to be very difficult, but try this medicine anyhow. It will cure you." Finally she ate it. I had told her to eat it and then to wash herself and comb her hair and she would get well, and now she is well. Then I painted her face and took my gourd and began singing very much. Then I stopped. "Indeed, you are right,"

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she said, "for now I am well." From that day on to the present time she has been well. Now she is very happy.

Black Water-spirit at about that time was having a hemorrhage and I wanted him to eat the peyote. "Well, I am not going to live anyhow," he said. "Well, eat this medicine soon then and you will get cured." Consumptives never were cured before this and now for the first time one was cured. Black Water-spirit is living to-day and is very well.

There was a man named Walking-Priest and he was very fond of whisky; he chewed and he smoked and he gambled. He was very fond of women. He did everything that was bad. Then I gave him some of the peyote and he ate it and he gave up all the bad things he was doing. He had had a very dangerous disease and had even had murder in his heart. But to-day he is living a good life. That is his desire.

Whoever has any bad thoughts, if he will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad.

To-day the Indians say that only God is holy. One of the Winnebagoes has told me, "Really, the life that I led was a very bad one. Never again will I do it. This medicine is good and I will always use it." John Harrison and Squeaking-Wings were prominent members of the medicine dance; they thought much of themselves as did all the members of the medicine dance. They knew everything connected with this medicine dance. Both of them were gamblers and were rich because they had won very much in gambling. Their parents had acquired great possessions by giving medicines to the people. They were rich and they believed that they had a right to be selfish with their possessions. Then they ate peyote and ever since that time they have been followers of this medicine. They were really very ill and now they have been cured of it. Now if there are any men that might be taken as examples of the peyote, it is these three. Even if a man were blind and only heard about them he would realize that if any medicine were good, it is this medicine. It is a cure for all evil. Before, I had thought that I knew something but I really knew nothing. It is only now that I have real knowledge. In my former life I was like one blind and deaf. My heart ached when I thought of what I had been doing. Never again will I do it. This medicine alone is holy and has made me good and has rid me of all evil. The one whom they call God has given me this. That I know positively. Let them all come here; men and women; let them bring with them all that they desire; let them bring with them their diseases. If they come here they will get well. This is all true; it is all true. Bring whatever desires you possess along with you and then come and eat or drink this medicine. This is life, the only life. Then you will learn

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something about yourself, so come. Even if you are not told anything about yourself, nevertheless you will learn something of yourself. Come with your disease, for this medicine will cure it. Whatever you have, come and eat this medicine and you will have true knowledge once and for all. Learn of this medicine yourself through actual experience.

If you just hear about it you are not likely to try it. If you desire real knowledge about it try it yourself, for then you will learn of things that you had never known before. In no other way will you ever be happy. I know that all sorts of excuses will run through your mind for not partaking of it, but if you wish to learn of something good, try this. Perhaps you will think to yourself that it will be too difficult and this will seem an excuse to you for not trying it. But why should you act thus? If you partake of it, even if you feel some uncertainty about its accomplishing all the good that has been said of it, I know that you will say to yourself, "Well, this life is good enough." After you have taken it for the first time, it will seem as if they are digging a grave for you, that you are about to die; and you will not want to take it again. "It is bad," you will think to yourself. You will believe that you are going to die and you will want to know what is going to happen to you. The coffin will be set before you and then you will see your body. If you wish to inquire further about where you are going then you will learn something you have not known. Two roads there are, one leading to a hole in the earth and the other extending up above. You will learn something that you had not known before. Of the two roads, one is dark and the other is light. You must choose one of these while you are alive and so must you decide whether you wish to continue in your evil ways or whether you will abandon them. These are the two roads. The Peyote people see them. They claim that only if you weep and repent will you be able to obtain knowledge. Do not, as I said before, listen to others talking about it, but try the medicine yourself. That is the only way to find out. No other medicine can accomplish what this has done. If, therefore, you make use of it, you will live. After they have eaten peyote people throw aside all the (evil) ceremonies that they were accustomed to perform before. Only by eating the peyote will you learn what is truly holy. That is what I am trying to learn myself.

It is now 23 years since I first ate peyote, and I am still doing it (1912). Before that my heart was filled with murderous thoughts. I wanted to kill my brother and my sister. It seemed to me that my heart would not feel good until I killed one of them. All my thoughts were fixed on the warpath. This is all I thought of. Now

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159 Now I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 88, *a*)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupiei* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[177] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs:

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave.

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness."

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me.

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made.

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding

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our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Believed, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they hold their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very lukewarm follower.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner.

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies.

Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 8, 4; 9, 4)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children.

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit ● 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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794 539 it used it for a purpose different from what it was intended.[1] They used it for war and for horse stealing. They, however, continued to eat the peyote, but they really ate too much of it. After a while the leader began thinking that the medicine might harm them, so he told them to hide it. The man did not know that even at that time a big war party was coming upon them. This tribe was almost destroyed.

They lost the peyote. One day, however, it was taught to a Comanche. He ate it and prayed to Earthmaker. Then it was taught to the Cheyenne and to the Arapaho and to the Caddo. The Tonkawa, the Apache, and the Mescallero Apache were the ones who had lost the medicine. When these other tribes began to eat this medicine they heard about it and they remembered that they also had long ago eaten it.

There was an old man in Oklahoma who knew the mescal country very well and he went down to old Mexico and stayed there for a year. When he returned he taught it to the Oto and the Oto taught it to us.

794 276 It is a true religion. The peyote is fulfilling the work of God and the Son of God. When the Son of God came to the earth he was poor, yet people spoke of him; he was abused. It is the same now with the peyote. The plant itself is not much of a growth, yet the people are talking about it a good deal; they are abusing it, they are trying to stop its use. When the Son of God came to earth the preachers of that time were called Pharisees and Scribes. They doubted what the Son of God said and claimed that he was an ordinary man. So it is to-day with the Christian Church; they are the Pharisees and Scribes, they are the doubters. They say that this is merely a plant, that it is the work of the devil. They are trying to stop its use and they are calling it an intoxicant, but this is a lie. If they will but come and see this ceremony they will realize this.

J. B.'s Peyote Experiences

159 794 276 When my father and mother asked me to come to the Missouri River (Nebraska) I knew they had eaten peyote and I did not like it. I had been told that these peyote eaters were doing wrong, and therefore I disliked them; I had heard that they were doing everything that was wicked. For these reasons we did not like them. About this time they sent me money for my ticket, and since my brothers and sisters told me to go, I went. Just as I was about to start my youngest sister, the one to whom we always listened most attentively, said to me, "Older brother, do not you indulge in this medicine eating (peyote) of which so much is said." I promised. Then I started out.

[1] This is clearly Rhoades's interpretation.

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As soon as I arrived (in Nebraska) I met some people who had not joined the peyote eaters and who said to me, "Your relatives are eating the peyote and they sent for you that you also might eat it. Your mother, your father, and your younger sister, they are all eating it." Thus they spoke to me. Then they told me of some of the bad things it was reported that these people had done. I felt ashamed and I wished I had not come in the first place. Then I said that I was going to eat the medicine.

After that I saw my father, mother, and sister. They were glad. Then we all went to where they were staying. My father and I walked (alone). Then he told me about the peyote eating. "It does not amount to anything, all this that they are doing, although they do stop drinking. It is also said that sick people get well. We were told about this and so we joined, and, sure enough, we are practically well, your mother as well as I. It is said that they offer prayers to Earthmaker (God)," he said. He kept on talking. "They are rather foolish. They cry when they feel very happy about anything. They throw away all of the medicines that they possess and know. They give up all the blessings they received while fasting and they give up all the spirits that blessed them in their fasts. They also stop smoking and chewing tobacco. They stop giving feasts, and they stop making offerings of tobacco. Indeed, they burn up their holy things. They burn up their war bundles. They are bad people. They give up the Medicine Dance. They burn up their medicine bags and even cut up their otter-skin bags. They say they are praying to Earthmaker (God) and they do so standing and crying. They claim that they hold nothing holy except Earthmaker (God). They claim that all the things that they are stopping are those of the bad spirit (the devil), and that the bad spirit (the devil) has deceived them; that there are no spirits who can bless; that there is no other spirit except Earthmaker (God)." Then I said, "Say, they certainly speak foolishly." I felt very angry toward them. "You will hear them, for they are going to have a meeting tonight. Their songs are very strange. They use a very small drum," said he. Then I felt a very strong desire to see them.

After a while we arrived. At night they had their ceremony. At first I sat outside and listened to them. I was rather fond of them. I stayed in that country and the young peyote eaters were exceedingly friendly to me. They would give me a little money now and then and they treated me with tender regard. They did everything that they thought would make me feel good, and in consequence I used to speak as though I liked their ceremony. However, I was only deceiving them. I only said it because they were so good to me. I thought they acted in this way because (the peyote) was deceiving them.

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159 794 276 Soon after that my parents returned to Wisconsin, but when they left they said they would come back in a little while. So I was left there with my relatives, who were all peyote followers. For that reason they left me there. Whenever I went among the nonpeyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the peyote people, and when I returned to the peyote people I used to say all sorts of things about the others.

I had a friend who was a peyote man and he said to me, "My friend, I wish very much that you should eat the peyote." Thus he spoke and I answered him, "My friend, I will do it, but not until I get accustomed to the people of this country. Then I will do it. The only thing that worries me is the fact that they are making fun of you. And in addition, I am not quite used to them." I spoke dishonestly.

I was staying at the place where my sister lived. She had gone to Oklahoma; she was a peyote follower. After a while she returned. I was then living with a number of women. This was the second time (there) and from them I obtained some money. Once I got drunk there and was locked up for six days. After my sister returned she and the others paid more attention than ever to me. Especially was this true of my brother-in-law. They gave me horses and a vehicle. They really treated me very tenderly. I knew that they did all this because they wished me to eat the peyote. I, in my turn, was very kind to them. I thought that I was fooling them and they thought that they were converting me. I told them that I believed in the peyote because they were treating me so nicely.

After a while we moved to a certain place where they were to have a large peyote meeting. I knew they were doing this in order to get me to join. Then I said to my younger sister, "I would be quite willing to eat this peyote (ordinarily), but I don't like the woman with whom I am living just now and I think I will leave her. That is why I do not want to join now, for I understand that when married people eat medicine (peyote) they will always have to stay together. Therefore I will join when I am married to some woman permanently." Then my brother-in-law came and she told him what I had said, and he said to me, "You are right in what you say. The woman with whom you are staying is a married woman and you can not continue living with her. It is null and void (this marriage) and we know it. You had better join now. It will be the same as if you were single. We will pray for you as though you were single. After you have joined this ceremony, then you can marry any woman whom you have a right to marry (legally). So, do join tonight. It is best. For some time we have been desirous of your joining but we have not said anything to you. It is Earthmaker's (God's) blessing to you that you have been thinking of this," said he.

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Therefore I sat inside the meeting place with them. One man acted as leader. We were to do whatever he ordered. The regalia were placed before him. I wanted to sit in some place on the side because I thought I might get to crying like the others. I felt ashamed of myself. 159 794 276 796

Then the leader arose and talked. He said that this was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's), and that he (the leader) could do nothing on his own initiative; that Earthmaker (God) was going to conduct the ceremony. Then he said that the medicine (peyote) was holy and that he would turn us all over to it; that he had turned himself over to it and wished now to turn all of us over to it. He said further, "I am a very pitiable (figure) in this ceremony, so when you pray to Earthmaker, pray also for me. Now let us all rise and pray to Earthmaker (God)." We all rose. Then he prayed. He prayed for the sick, and he prayed for those who did not yet know Earthmaker. He said that they were to be pitied. When he had finished we sat down. Then the peyote was passed around. They gave me five. My brother-in-law said to me, "If you speak to this medicine (peyote), it will give you whatever you ask of it. Then you must pray to Earthmaker, and then you must eat the medicine." However, I ate them (the peyote) immediately, for I did not know what to ask for and I did not know what to say in a prayer to Earthmaker (God). So I ate the peyote just as they were. They were very bitter and had a taste difficult to describe. I wondered what would happen to me. After a while I was given five more and I also ate them. They tasted rather bitter. Now I was very quiet. The peyote rather weakened me. Then I listened very attentively to the singing. I liked it very much. I felt as though I were partly asleep. I felt different from (my normal self), but when I (looked around) and examined myself, I saw nothing wrong about myself. However, I felt different from (my normal self). Before this I used to dislike the songs. Now I liked the leader's singing very much. I liked to listen to him. [782]

They were all sitting very quietly. They were doing nothing except singing. Each man sang four songs and then passed the regalia to the next one. (Each one) held a stick and an eagle's tail feather in one hand and a small gourd rattle, which they used to shake while singing, in the other. One of (those) present used to do the drumming. Thus objects would pass around until they came back to the leader, who would then sing four songs. When these were finished, he would place the various (things) on the ground, rise, and pray to Earthmaker (God). Then he called upon one or two to speak. They said that Earthmaker (God) was good and that the peyote was good, and that whosoever ate this medicine (peyote) would be able to free himself from the bad spirit (the devil); for they said that

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159 Earthmaker forbids us to commit sins. When this was over they
774 sang again.
796 After midnight, every once in a while (I heard) someone cry. In
276 some cases they would go up to the leader and talk with him. He would stand up and pray with them. They told me what they were saying. They said that they were asking (people) to pray for them, as they were sorry for their sins and that they might be prevented from committing them again. That is what they were saying. They cried very loudly. I was rather frightened. (I noticed also) that when I closed my eyes and sat still, I began to see strange things. I did not get sleepy in the least. Thus the light (of morning) came upon me. In the morning, as the sun rose, they stopped. They all got up and prayed to Earthmaker (God) and then they stopped.

159 During the daytime I did not get sleepy in the least. My actions
276 were a little different (from my usual ones). Then they said, "To-
794 night they are going to have another meeting. Let us go over. They say that is the best (thing) to do and thus you can learn it (the ceremony) right away. It is said that their spirits wander
[774] over all the earth and the heavens also. All this you will learn and see," they said. "At times they die and remain dead all night and all day. When in this condition they sometimes see Earthmaker (God), it is said." One would also be able to see where the bad spirit lived, it was said.

So we went there again. I doubted all this. I thought that what they were saying was untrue. However, I went along anyhow. When we got there, I had already eaten some peyote, for I had taken three during the day. Now near the peyote meeting an (Indian) feast was being given and I went there instead. When I reached the place, I saw a long lodge. The noise was terrific. They were beating an enormous drum. The sound almost raised me in the air, so (pleasurably) loud did it sound to me. Not so (pleasurable) had things appeared at those affairs (peyote meetings) that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. About day I left and when I got back the peyote meeting was still going on. When I got back they told me to sit down at a certain place. They treated me very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I heard that they were going to have another meeting near by on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote the whole day at the place where we were staying. We were staying at the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys there taught me a few songs. "Say, when you learn how to sing, you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice," they said to me. I thought so myself.

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That night we went to the place where the peyote meeting was to take place. They gave me a place to sit and treated me very kindly. "Well, he has come," they even said when I got there, "make a place for him." I thought they regarded me as a great man. John Rave, the leader, was to conduct the (ceremony). I ate five peyote. Then my brother-in-law and my sister came and gave themselves up. They asked me to stand there with them. I did not like it, but I did it nevertheless. "Why should I give myself up? I am not in earnest, and I intend to stop this as soon as I get back to Wisconsin. I am only doing this because they have given me presents," I thought. "I might just as well get up, since it doesn't mean anything to me." So I stood up. The leader began to talk and I (suddenly) began to feel sick. It got worse and worse and finally I lost consciousness entirely. When I recovered, I was lying flat on my back. Those with whom I had been standing were still standing there. I had (as a matter of fact) regained consciousness as soon as I fell down. I felt like leaving the place that night, but I did not do it. I was quite tired out. "Why have I done this?" I said to myself. "I promised (my sister) that I would not do it." So I thought and then I tried to leave, but I could not. I suffered intensely. At last daylight came upon me. Now I thought that they regarded me as one who had a trance and found out something.

Then we went home and they showed me a passage in the Bible where it said that it was a shame for any man to wear long hair. That is what it said, they told me. I looked at the passage. I was not a man learned in books, but I wanted to give the impression that I knew how to read, so I told them to cut my hair, for I wore it long at that time. After my hair was cut I took out a lot of medicine that I happened to have in my pockets. These were courting medicines. There were many small bundles of them. All these, together with my hair, I gave to my brother-in-law. Then I cried and my brother-in-law also cried. Then he thanked me. He told me that I understood and that I had done well. He told me that Earthmaker (God) alone was holy; that all the things (blessings and medicines) that I possessed were false; that I had been fooled by the bad spirit (devil). He told me that I had now freed myself from much of this (bad influence). My relatives expressed their thanks fervently.

On the fourth night they had another meeting and I went to it again. There I again ate (peyote). I enjoyed it and I sang along with them. I wanted to be able to sing immediately. Some young men were singing and I enjoyed it, so I prayed to Earthmaker, asking him to let me learn to sing right away. That was all I asked for. My brother-in-law was with me all the time. At that meeting all the things I had given my brother-in-law were burned up.

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159 794 276 The fact that he (my brother-in-law) told me that I understood pleased me, and I felt good when daylight came. (As a matter of fact) I had not received any knowledge.

After that I would attend meetings every once in a while, and I looked around for a woman whom I might marry permanently. Before long that was the only thing I thought of when I attended the meetings.

On one occasion we were to have a meeting of men and I went to the meeting with a woman, with whom I thought of going around the next day. That was (the only) reason I went with her. When we arrived, the one who was to lead asked me to sit near him. There he placed me. He urged me to eat a lot of peyote, so I did. The leaders (of the ceremony) always place the regalia in front of themselves; they also had a peyote placed there. The leader placed a very small one in front of himself this time. "Why does he have a very small one there?" I thought to myself. I did not think much about it.

159 794 786 276 It was now late at night and I had eaten a lot of peyote and felt rather tired. I suffered considerably. After a while I looked at the peyote and there stood an eagle with outspread wings. It was as beautiful a sight as one could behold. Each of the feathers seemed to have a mark. The eagle stood looking at me. I looked around thinking that perhaps there was something the matter with my sight. Then I looked again and it was really there. I then looked in a different direction and it disappeared. Only the small peyote remained. I looked around at the other people but they all had their heads bowed and were singing. I was very much surprised.

Some time after this (I saw) a lion lying in the same place (where I had seen the eagle). I watched it very closely. It was alive and looking at me. I looked at it very closely, and when I turned my eyes away just the least little bit it disappeared. "I suppose they all know this and I am just beginning to know of it," I thought. Then I saw a small person (at the same place). He wore blue clothes and a shining brimmed cap. He had on a soldier's uniform. He was sitting on the arm of the person who was drumming, and he looked at every one. He was a little man, perfect (in all proportions). Finally I lost sight of him. I was very much surprised indeed. I sat very quietly. "This is what it is," I thought, "this is what they all probably see and I am just beginning to find out."

Then I prayed to Earthmaker (God) "This, your ceremony, let me hereafter perform."

As I looked again, I saw a flag. I looked more carefully and (I saw) the house full of flags. They had the most beautiful marks on them. In the middle (of the room) there was a very large flag and it was a live one; it was moving. In the doorway there was another

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one not entirely visible. I had never seen anything so beautiful in all my life before. 159 794

Then again I prayed to Earthmaker (God). I bowed my head and closed my eyes and began (to speak). I said many things that I would ordinarily never have spoken about. As I prayed, I was aware of something above me and there he was; Earthmaker (God) to whom I was praying, he it was. That which is called the soul, that is it, that is what one calls Earthmaker (God). Now this is what I felt and saw. The one called Earthmaker (God) is a spirit and that is what I felt and saw. All of us sitting there, we had all together one spirit or soul; at least that is what I learned. I instantly became the spirit and I was their spirit or soul. Whatever they thought of, I (immediately) knew. I did not have to speak to them and get an answer to know what their thoughts had been. Then I thought of a certain place, far away, and immediately I was there; I was my thought. 786 276

I looked around and noticed how everything seemed about me, and when I opened my eyes I was myself in the body again. From this time on, I thought, thus I shall be. This is the way they are, and I am only beginning to be that way. "All those that heed Earthmaker (God) must be thus," I thought. "I would not need any more food," I thought, "for was I not my spirit? Nor would I have any more use of my body," I felt. "My corporeal affairs are over," I felt.

Then they stopped and left, for it was just dawning. Then someone spoke to me. I did not answer, for I thought they were just fooling, and that they were all like myself, and that (therefore) it was unnecessary for me to talk to them. So when they spoke to me I only answered with a smile. "They are just saying this to me because (they realize) that I have just found out," I thought. That was why I did not answer. I did not speak to anyone until noon. Then I had to leave the house to perform one of nature's duties and someone followed me. It was my friend. He said, "My friend, what troubles you that makes you act as you do?" "Well, there's no need of your saying anything, for you know it beforehand," I said. 159 794 276

Then I immediately got over my trance and again got into my (normal) condition, so that he would have to speak to me before I knew his thoughts. I became like my former self. It became necessary for me to speak to him.

Then I spoke to him and said, "My friend, let us hitch up these horses and then I will go wherever you like, for you wish to speak to me and I also want to go around and talk to you." Thus I spoke to him. "If I were to tell you all that I have learned, I would never be able to stop at all, so much have I learned," I said to him. "However, I would enjoy telling some of it." "Good," said he. He liked

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159 794 276 it (what I told him) very much. "That is what I am anxious to hear," said he. Then we went after the horses. We caught one of them but we could not get the other. He got away from us and we could not find him. We hunted everywhere for the horse but could not discover where he had run to. Long afterwards we found it among the whites.

Now since that time (of my conversion) no matter where I am, I always think of this religion. I still remember it and I think I will remember it as long as I live. It is the only holy thing I have been aware of in all my life.

After that whenever I heard of a peyote meeting, I went to it. However, my thoughts were always fixed on women. "If I were married (legally) perhaps these thoughts will leave me," I thought. Whenever I went to a meeting now I tried to eat as many peyote as possible, for I was told that it was good to eat them. For that reason I ate them. As I sat there I would always pray to Earthmaker (God). Now these were my thoughts. If I were married, I thought as I sat there, I could then put all my thoughts on this ceremony. I sat with my eyes closed and was very quiet.

159 794 786 276 Suddenly I saw something. This was tied up. The rope with which this object was tied up was long. The object itself was running around and around (in a circle). There was a pathway there in which it ought to go, but it was tied up and unable to get there. The road was an excellent one. Along its edge bluegrass grew and on each side there grew many varieties of pretty flowers. Sweet-smelling flowers sprang up all along this road. Far off in the distance appeared a bright light. There a city was visible of a beauty indescribable by tongue. A cross was in full sight. The object that was tied up would always fall just short of reaching the road. It seemed to lack sufficient strength to break loose (of what was holding it). (Near it) lay something which would have given it sufficient strength to break its fastenings, if it were only able to get hold of it.

I looked at what was so inextricably tied up and I saw that it was myself. I was forever thinking of women. "This it is to which I am tied," I thought. "Were I married, I would have strength enough to break my fastening and be able to travel in the good road," I thought. Then daylight came upon us and we stopped.

159 794 276 Then I thought of a man I used to know who was an old peyote-man. He always spoke to me very kindly. I went over to see him. I thought I would tell him what had happened to me. When I arrived there he was quite delighted. It was about noon and he fed my horses and asked me to eat with him. Then when we were through eating, I told him what had happened to me. He was very glad and told me that I was speaking of a very good thing. Then (finally) he said, "Now I shall tell you what I think is a good thing

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(for you to do). You know that if an old horse is balky, you cannot break him of (this habit); even if you bought him and tried to break him (of this habit) you would not succeed. If, indeed, you succeeded it would only be after very hard work. However, if you had a very young horse, you could train it in any way you wished. So it is in everything. If you marry a woman who has been in the habit of marrying frequently, it would be difficult for her to break herself of a habit she loves. You are not the one she loves. If you marry her you will lead a hard life. If you wish to get married, take your time. There are plenty of good women. Many of them are at (government) schools and have never been married. I think you would do best if you waited for some of these before marrying. They will return in the middle of the summer. So, don't think of any of these women you see around here, but wait until then and pray to Earthmaker patiently. That would be the best, I think." I liked what he told me and thanked him. I decided to accept his advice, and I did not look around for women after that. I was to wait about three months and (during that time) I paid strict attention to the peyote ceremony.

On one occasion while at a meeting, I suffered (great pain). My eyes were sore and I was thinking of many things. "Now I do nothing but pay attention to this ceremony, for it is good." Then I called the leader over to me and said to him, "My elder brother, hereafter only Earthmaker (God) shall I regard as holy. I will make no more offerings of tobacco. I will not use any more tobacco. I will not smoke and I will not chew tobacco. I have no further interest in these. Earthmaker (God) alone do I desire (to serve). I will not take part in the Medicine Dance again. I give myself up (to you). I intend to give myself up to Earthmaker's (God's) cause." Thus I spoke to him. "It is good, younger brother," he said to me. Then he had me stand up and he prayed to Earthmaker (God). He asked Earthmaker (God) to forgive me my sins.

The next morning I was taken home. My eyes were sore and I could not see. They took me back to a house and there they put a solution of the peyote into my eyes and I got well in a week.

One night, when I was asleep, I dreamed that the world had come to an end. Some people Earthmaker (God) took, while some belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). I belonged to the bad spirit (the devil). Although I had given myself up (become a peyote-man), I had not as yet been baptized. That was why Earthmaker (God) did not take me. All those who belonged to Earthmaker (God) were marked, but I was not. I felt very bad about it when I woke up, although I had only dreamed about it. I felt very bad indeed. I wanted them to hurry and have another peyote meeting

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soon. I could hardly wait until I reached the place where the next meeting was to take place. I immediately told the leader (what I wanted) and asked him to baptize me and he baptized me in the morning. After that morning I felt better.

Then I went to work and I worked with a railroad work-gang. I was still working when the time for the mid-summer celebration approached. I always went to the peyote meeting on Saturday nights.

The old man was right in what he had told me. The girl students returned in the summer. Shortly (after they returned) a man, a friend of mine who had gone around with me, asked me if I wanted to get married. "Yes, I do," I answered. Then he said, "Listen, I have been thinking of something. What kind of a woman do you wish to marry?" I told him what I had in mind. Then he said,

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"Come home with me. I have a younger sister. I want her to marry a good man; I would like to have her marry you," he said. Then I went home with him. When we got there (and discussed the matter) the girl gave her consent. The parents also consented.

So there I got married and what I expected has taken place and I have lived with her ever since. On one occasion, after she was used to me, she told me this. (Before she had married she had determined that) if she ever got married, she would not care to marry a very young man. "I wanted a man who ate peyote and who paid attention to the ceremony." Such a man she desired and such a man was I, she said. She loved me, she said, and she was glad that she had married me. This is what she had asked Earthmaker (God) in prayer. "And indeed it has happened as I wished," she said. She believed it was the will of Earthmaker (God) that we had done this, she said. She was therefore glad (that she had married me). Together we gave ourselves up (to the peyote) at a peyote meeting. From that time on we have remained members of the peyote (ceremony).

Many things are said under the influence of the peyote. The members (would) get into a kind of trance and speak of many things. On one occasion they had a peyote meeting which lasted two nights. I ate a good deal of peyote. The next morning I tried to sleep. I suffered a great deal. I lay down in a very comfortable position. After a while a (nameless) fear arose in me. I could not remain in that place, so I went out into the prairie, but here again I was seized with this fear. Finally I returned to a lodge near the lodge in which the peyote meeting was being held and lay down alone. I feared that I might do something foolish to myself (if I remained there alone), and I hoped that someone would come and talk to me. Then someone did come and talk to me, but I did not feel better, so I thought I would go inside where the meeting was going on. "I am going inside," I said to him. He laughed. "Alright, do so," said he. I went in and sat down. It was very hot and I felt as

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though I were going to die. I was very thirsty but I feared to ask for water. I thought that I was certainly going to die. I began to totter over.

I died, and my body was moved by another life. It began to move about; to move about and make signs. It was not I and I could not see it. At last it stood up. The regalia —eagle feathers and gourds —these were holy, they said. They also had a large book there (the Bible). These my body took and what is contained in that (book) my body saw. It was a Bible. The regalia were not holy, but they were good ornaments. My body told them that; and that if any person paid attention to Earthmaker's (God's) ceremony, he would be hearkening to what the Bible said; that, likewise, my body told them. Earthmaker's son (God's son) said that he was the only way. This means that one can only get life from the Word. (My) body spoke of many things and it spoke of what was true. Indeed it spoke of many things. It spoke of all the things that were being done (by the pagan Indians) and which were evil. A long time it spoke. At last it stopped. Not I, but my body standing there, had done the talking. Earthmaker (God) had done his own talking. I would be confessing myself a fool if I were to think that I had said all this, it (my body) told me.

After a while I returned to my normal human condition. Some of those there had been frightened, thinking that I had gone crazy. Others had liked it. It was discussed a good deal. They called it the "shaking" state. It was said that the condition in which I was, was not part of Earthmaker's (God's) religion. I was told that whoever ate a lot of peyote would, through the peyote, be taught the teachings of Earthmaker (God). Earthmaker's (God's) ways and man's ways were different. Whoever, therefore, wished to help this religion must give himself up (to it). If you ate a good deal of this peyote and believed that it could teach you something, then it assuredly would do so. That, at least, is the way in which I understand the matter.

Once we had a meeting at the home of a member who was sick. The sick would always get well when a meeting was held in their home, and that is why we did it. At that meeting I got into the "shaking" condition again. My body told (us) how our religion (peyote) was an affair of Earthmaker's (God's) and even if one knew only a portion of it, one could still see (partake of) Earthmaker's (God's) religion.

Thus it went on talking. "Earthmaker (God), His Son (Christ) and His Holiness (the Holy Ghost), these are the three ways of saying it. Even if you know one (of these three), it means all. Every one of you has the means of opening (the road) to Earthmaker (God). It is given to you. With that (your belief) you can open (the door

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159 to God). You can not open it with knowledge (alone). How many
794 letters are there to the key (the road to God)? Three. What are
276 they?" There were many educated people (there), but none of them said anything. "The first (letter) must be a K, so if a person said K, that would be the whole of it. But let me look in the book (the Bible) and see what that means," said the body. Then it (the body) took the Bible and began to turn the leaves. The body did not know where it was itself, for it was not learned in books. Finally in Matthew, chapter 16, it stopped. There it speaks about it. "Peter did not give himself up" (it says). "For a long time he could not give up his own knowledge. There (in that passage) it says Key." That is the work of Earthmaker (God). At least so I understand it. He made use of my body and acted in this manner, in the case of the peyote.

Then I go about telling (every one) that this religion is good. Many other people at home said the same thing. Many, likewise, have joined this religion and are getting along nicely.

On one occasion, after I had eaten a good deal of peyote, I learned the following from it: that all I had done in the past, that it had all been evil. This was plainly revealed to me. What I thought was holy, and (by thus thinking) was lost, that I now know was false. (It is false), this giving of (pagan) feasts, of holding (the old) things holy, the Medicine Dance, and all the Indian customs.

J. B.'s Account of His Conversion

I was at the old agency. There they were to try me for murder. At night, as I sat in jail, certain people came to me and told me that they had a gallon jug of whisky, and that if I was free that night, I should come and drink with them. They would wait for me. That same night there was a peyote meeting at John Rave's house and my brother Sam invited me to go there. Sam stood around there waiting for me. He was very low in spirits. He knew of the other invitation I had received and he told me that he would go with me wherever I went. I wanted very badly to go to the place where they had the liquor, and should have done so if Sam had given me the least chance. However, I could not get rid of him, so I decided to go to the peyote meeting. When I arrived there, we found just enough room in the center for myself and Sam. Sam sat at the right of me and John Bear at the left. In front of me there was some peyote infusion, and some peyote ground up and dampened.

As we sat there Sam began to cry and I began to think. I knew why Sam was crying; he wanted me to take some of the peyote. After a while I began to think of my own troubles. But I thought it wasn't the proper way of taking it just because I was in trouble.

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Then I thought of the other peyote eaters, how much they must be wanting me to take it. After a while I spoke to Sam and said, "I am going to eat this medicine, but . . ." Then I began to cry. After a while he tried to get me to say the balance, but I couldn't. I drank some of the solution. As the others saw that I was willing to take it they gave me a big ball of dampened peyote. However, I didn't like that and I asked for some more peyote in the dry state. I sat there asking for more and more peyote. This I kept up all night. When morning came I stopped. Just then Harry Rave got up to speak, and no sooner did he get up than I knew exactly what he was going to say. This must be the way of all peyote eaters, I thought. I looked around me; and suddenly I realized that all those within the room knew my thoughts and that I knew the thoughts of all the others. Harry Rave spoke and finished his speech; but I had known it all before he said a word. Then A. Priest, who was leading the meeting, arose and asked the rest to get up, so that they might turn themselves over to Christ. I also rose; but when I got up I was seized with a choking sensation. I couldn't breathe. I wanted to grab hold of Bear and Sam, but I didn't, thinking that I was going to stand whatever was coming to me. When I made up my mind to that, I felt relieved. Then I knew what the real meaning of turning one's self over to Christ meant.

In the morning they stopped the meeting and everyone seemed happy and glad. I, however, was very serious and wondered why they were all laughing. Every once in a while they would come and talk to me. I wondered why they did it, when they knew what was going on within me. For that reason I wouldn't answer them.

That week there were four meetings, and I went to all of them and ate very much peyote. The fourth meeting was at the usual place, John Rave's house. I sat with Sam as usual. At night I became filled with peyote. All at once I heard a voice saying, "You are the one who is to tell of the medicine dance." And I thought that Sam was speaking to me, so I turned around and looked at him, but he hadn't said a word. Soon I realized that nobody near me had said anything, and I began to think, "Why should it be I? Why not one of the others?" I rather pushed the idea from me; but no sooner had I done so than I began to have a tired and depressed sensation. This passed all over me. I knew that if I got up with the sincere purpose of giving in to the power that was wanting me to speak of the medicine dance I should be relieved. However, for some reason, I know not why, I felt like resisting.

The next morning I asked to be baptized, and said that I would thereafter have nothing more to do with offerings to the spirits;

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159 794 276 that I would not give any more feasts; and that I would not have any more to do with the medicine dance. From that day on I quit all my old beliefs. I did not feel like saying all this, for indeed my heart was turned just the other way, but I couldn't help it, for I was filled with the peyote.

From that time on, at every meeting that I attended, I could not rid myself of the idea that I must tell of the medicine dance. At all such times a feeling of heaviness would come over me. There I would be with but one thing on my mind; should I, or should I not, tell of it? I did not want to, and thought of all sorts of excuses that I was not a member of the Nebraska division etc.

I was in this frame of mind while living with John Walker. There I received word that I would be wanted to tell of the medicine dance. From that moment I could not rest easy. I went to the barn and prayed and wept, asking that God might direct me. I went about but could not sit quiet. My wife stayed around me crying. As I stood there, someone drove up with a wagon. Then I thought of all the unhappiness I would cause to members of the medicine lodge if I told the secrets of the medicine dance, and I asked myself if it really would not be a sin to cause so much misery. The man who was driving the white team was John Baptiste, and he told me that I was wanted to tell of the medicine dance. I got ready and entered the buggy. I was still crying and praying. Then it occurred to me that I would like to see John Rave. No sooner had I thought of this than John Rave appeared in the road. I got out and shook hands with him and told him where I was going and for what purpose, and asked him what he thought of the matter. He began to thank me for the work I was going to do and said, "This is what we should try to do, to help one another and to work for our Creator." Then he thanked me again. Perfect happiness now came over me and I went to Sioux City and got married legally. From now on I was entirely filled with the desire to tell all that I knew about the medicine dance. "This must be the work assigned to me by the Creator," I thought; and yet I have rejected the idea all the time.

On Paul's last trip, although I had not finished the translation, I didn't care to have any more to do with it, and said that somebody else should finish the work, my excuse being that I was busy. So, as soon as I heard that Paul had come, I packed up and hurried out west as quickly as possible, for I knew that he would bother the life out of me if he found me. However, no sooner had I reached the home of my friend than I was seized with an attack of rheumatism, with which I had never been afflicted before, and the next morning Paul appeared with a wagon to take me back to Winnebago. Now I know that the telling and the translation of the medicine dance is my mission in life, and I am willing to tell all to the full extent of my knowledge.

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JUDGE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
● 276 strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
177 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night. Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing
[533] staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it.
[788] When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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The first and foremost virtue predicated by Rave for the peyote was its curative power. He gives a number of instances in which hopeless venereal diseases and consumption were cured by its use; and this was the first thing one heard about it as late as 1913. In the early days of the Peyote cult it appears that Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote. The main point apparently was to induce people to try it. No amount of preaching of its direct effects, such as the hyperstimulation induced, the glorious visions, and the feeling of relaxation following, would ever have induced prominent members of the old Winnebago religious societies to try it. For that reason it is highly significant that all the old members of the Peyote cult speak of the diseases of which it cured them. Along this line lay unquestionably its appeal for the most converts. Its subsequent spread was due to a large number of interacting factors. One informant claims that there was little religion connected with it at first, and that the people drank the peyote on account of its peculiar effects.

The manner in which it spread at the beginning was simple and significant viz, along family lines. As soon as an individual had become a peyote eater he devoted all his energies to converting other members of his family. From instances that have come to our notice this lay in an insistent appeal to family ties and personal affection. A man showed unusual courtesy, showered innumerable favors upon relatives he was anxious to convert, and thereby earned the gratitude of the recipient, who at some critical moment, let us say, such as illness or mental depression, showed it by partaking of the peyote. The same methods were employed in the more general propaganda. The author knows of Peyote people who drove many miles in order to be present at the bedside of some old conservative who was ill, perhaps neglected by his relatives; bring him food, and spend the night with him in the most affectionate solicitude. They always had sufficient tact and understanding of human nature not to obtrude their purpose on the sick man too much. To the casual observer their object seemed simply that of a Samaritan. They would hardly have admitted that behind all their solicitude lay the desire to obtain a new convert. They would have claimed that their only purpose, over and above their sincere desire to comfort the sick man, was to demonstrate to their fellow Winnebago what changes the peyote had wrought in them. In this way the patient drew the inference, an inference that was likely to be drawn all the more quickly and forcibly when he contrasted the behavior of these Peyote nurses with that of his pagan relatives. The author was fortunate enough to obtain a fairly complete account of a conversion, illustrating both these features.

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place to which he is going he will live far more happily than here among men. 796x

(3) *Filling of the ceremonial pipe and the smoking ritual.*—Before the basic ritual of the first division is begun the attendants take some tobacco and, filling the ceremonial pipe, place it near the war bundle. As the first pipeful is intended for Earthmaker, the stem is directed vertically. Then as soon as the appropriate songs have been sung the attendant lights the pipe and passes it around the lodge, so that all the men may smoke. When the pipe returns to the host it is again filled. 796x 782 [276 782]

This procedure is repeated three more times, but as in each case the offering is to a different spirit, the arrangement of the pipestem is different. At the second filling of the pipe the stem is turned to the west for the Thunderbirds; at the third, it is turned to the south for Disease-giver; and at the fourth, it is turned toward the earth for the earth and the spirits that live under the earth. [782] [776]

(4) *Tobacco offerings to the spirits.*—This occurs in two forms, (*a*) and (*b*).

(*a*) When the buckskins have been prepared and rolled up on the frameworks, then all those participating march around the lodge to the place where the war bundle is lying and pour tobacco upon it. Then they offer tobacco to all the spirits worshiped. The spirits mentioned specifically are, however, few in number, the offerings being really directed to the six cardinal points, east, north, west, south, above, and below. [823]

(*b*) This is a more specific offering and all the spirits are mentioned by name and short addresses are made to them. It is repeated three times once in the Sweat-Lodge ritual, then in the first, and lastly in the second division

In the Sweat-Lodge ritual the offering of tobacco is made to the following spirits: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Great Black Hawk, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Moon, South Wind, and Eagle. 796x 776 782

In the first division the order is different and more spirits are sacrificed to. The spirits to whom tobacco is offered are the following: Earthmaker, Thunderbirds, Night Spirits, Disease-giver, Sun, Earth, Moon, Eagle Chief, Day, South Wind, North Wind, Black Hawk, Wonavi're Ⅎankcik, and Great Black Hawk.

In the second division the following spirits receive tobacco offerings: Night Spirits, Earth, Water, Pigeon Hawk, Moon, Earthmaker, Thunderbird, Great Black Hawk, Disease-giver, South Wind, and Sun.

Each spirit is addressed by name and then a handful of tobacco is poured into the fire.

(5) *The buckskin offering to the spirits.*—Short prayers are addressed to those spirits who are to receive buckskins and requests for power

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things with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga. That we ask of you." 796X 539X

Offering to the Morning Star.—"You who are above, Morning Star, our request is that you bless us with that with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga. Tobacco and food and a buckskin offering we are about to send you."[a] 782 776

Offering to Earth. "Grandmother Earth, you also added your power to the spirit bundle that grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga made. The powers Earthmaker put you in control of, and with which you blessed grandfather Djōbenagiwi'ŋxga, those we ask of you. Tobacco, soup, and a buckskin offering we are about to send to you and the request that we make of you, is war power and life."

Offering to the Water-spirit.—"Water-spirit, grandfather whose body is of water,[b] tobacco, food, and a buckskin offering for moccasins, we are about to offer you. I and my relatives desire to lay our hands on war and life."

General prayer to the spirits.—"Grandfathers, we have probably been very remiss in what we have done, but do not hold it against us, grandfathers. We greet you, war-bundle owners. The life (blessings) that those who have gone before us had, the songs that they handed down to us, not in their manner will we be able to sing, but still, however it be, it will be (our best). It has been said that nothing will provoke you,[c] grandfathers. Well, however, that is the way we will do it. I greet you." (Song.)

Filling of the Ceremonial Pipe and Smoking Ritual

First filling of the pipe.—After they have sung the first war-bundle song, then they get a pipeful of tobacco ready and place it near the war bundle, speaking as follows: "Our father who art above, for you the pipe is extended; up straight above it is placed." Up straight above it is extended to Earthmaker, they say. For that reason do they arrange the pipe in that way. Then when the songs are finished the attendant takes the pipe, lights it, and takes it with him to the left side, giving all the men in the lodge an opportunity to smoke. Women are not allowed to smoke. The tobacco in the pipe is entirely consumed as the pipe makes the circuit of the lodge and it is then filled again. 796X 539X 782 276 [562]

Second filling of the pipe.—Then there at the feast for the second time do they place (the pipe). When they are about to sing the

[a] That this spirit was not mentioned before is an oversight on the part of the informant.

[b] Informant used ritualistic name for the Water-Spirit. It may mean chief. The general name which we loosely translate "Water-spirit" is "Wak'djesl."

[c] I. e., that no inaccuracy nor ignorance on their part will anger the spirits and cause them to refrain from bestowing their blessings. This is, of course, an expression of ritualistic modesty, but I suspect that there is also a reference intended here to the fact that in these degenerate days not only are individuals no longer blessed as of yore, but certain details of the ceremony have been forgotten. I see no reason for giving too much weight to this last fact, but it may be best to have it in mind.

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war-bundle songs then they fill the pipe and place it in front of the war bundle, in the path of the Thunderbirds, extending the mouth-piece in that direction (i. e., the west). Then they would sing some songs and when these were finished, the Thunderbirds would come as feasters to where the pipe lay extended and smoke. That is why they place the pipes there. The Thunderbirds do this (i. e., smoke) as a sign of acceptance of the tobacco, food, and buckskins. So that a Thunderbird might smoke, do the feasters place the pipe there.

Third filling of the pipe.—Then the host asked the others, "In what direction shall I place this pipe?" and one of the feasters said, "Toward the south, place it." Then they sang the songs of the Disease-giver. Then when they were finished they carried around the pipe.

Fourth filling of the pipe.—Then the host fills the pipe again and again asks, "In what direction shall I place the pipe?" (and some one answers), "Place it toward the earth." So he placed it toward the ground. For those under the ground, the Water-spirits, they also place the pipe by standing it on the ground. Then they sing paint songs and when they are finished they pass the pipe around so that all may smoke. When it returns (to the host) it is not filled again but placed empty on the ground.

Basic Ritual[49]

Host's first speech.—"War-bundle owners, who are sitting here, I send forth my greeting to you. It is good that you have come (in response to my invitation). It is my purpose to make you tired from sitting, but do not for that reason think any the worse of us. We will make you hungry, hungry to the point of starvation,[50] but (we know) you came for the sake of the spirits (not for our sake). It is good. We are not going to do anything in the correct manner, but our grandfathers who live in the west taught our grandfather Djôšenagjwi'ąxga some songs and these we are going to try and repeat. We will now sing the songs just as they taught it to grandfather. We may perhaps sing only one song. However, if you know only one song and take pains about it, it will suffice (to propitiate the spirits); so grandfather said, it is said. Anyhow, if we try to cry, in our efforts of singing,[51] our grandfathers will take cognizance of it, it is said. That is what we are thinking of when we try to get the spirits' attention by singing.[52] We will do our best to sing the songs,[53] and we will sing four of them; and when we

[49] For explanation see Introduction.

[50] Ritualistic depreciation.

[51] I. e., if you put yourself into a state of religious fervor, a state that I have generally rendered by the word "pitiable."

[52] The word "hôk'i'rega" means, literally, "by voice to attract attention." "Hô" is not an instrumental particle but the word for voice, speech.

[53] Literally, "to make one's breath visible in the form of song or speech," a ritualistic circumlocution for sing.

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song. Very good have they been to us. It is good. This is what I have longed for, what we have been doing and all the good they have said about us. It is good when you give a feast to do just what you wish. The war-bundle owners, as many as there are here, have spoken for me. It is good to obtain something when asking for it. Very well have they spoken. It is good; it is very good. You have eaten (the food) in my behalf; very carefully have you eaten it up for me. All the sacred speeches that they blessed him (our grandfather) with you have repeated so that you might obtain real life, you said. It is good and I thank you, for we have done here exactly what I have longed for. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

539X 796X

SECOND DIVISION OF THE CEREMONY—IN HONOR OF THE NIGHT SPIRITS

Introductory remarks.—Then the attendants get ready to put on the kettles for the second feast. When they are finished arranging the food that is to be turned over to the spirits the host prepares his tobacco and gets ready to pour it. Then he speaks the following:

539X 796X 776 782

THE TOBACCO OFFERING

Offering to the Night Spirits.—"To you, grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋga, does the council lodge of the Chief of the Night Spirits, standing in the east, belong. Holy you have kept it. You (Chief of the Night Spirits) were the one who blessed him with it, he said. When the time comes for the tobacco pouring we will offer you a handful of tobacco. War power he liked to obtain by doing this. With what you blessed him, that we ask you to give us in return. Grandfather, Chief of the Night Spirits, tobacco, here it is.

"Here in the fire I shall place tobacco for you at all times. Tobacco, holy food, and buckskin for moccasins, all those things I will send to your sacred creation lodge."

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Offering to Earth.—"You who are our grandmother, Earth, you blessed grandfather Djobenaŋgiwi'ŋga with life and war powers. As far as you extend, that far, O grandmother, do we spread out for you tobacco and food and moccasins. Here is the tobacco. Here in the fire shall I place tobacco; and food and offerings of buckskin will we send to you at all times. You will always accept them, grandfather said, it is said, so that our clansmen may travel in a straight path of war and life."[69]

[69] That is, may nothing intervene to prevent them from enjoying all the blessings they have received in war and life.

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through, the buckskin is taken down, unrolled, and the thunder-buck- 776x
skin given to the hand sitting opposite the host. The other buckskins 782
are then distributed in rotation, except that the buckskin to Earth-
maker is given to the guest who occupies the middle position in the
lodge. All the guests remain standing with their unrolled buckskins,
holding them by the sticks and keeping tobacco in their other hand,
while the old man speaks to them and blows first upon a flute. Then,
to the accompaniment of a gourd, he sings two songs. After that the
buckskins are rolled up again in such a way that the markings remain
visible, and hung up again on sticks that are placed near the individual
invited guests, just west of the first fireplace. There they have a pole
for Earthmaker, at whose foot the war bundle is placed and opened.
Tobacco is then poured into the hands of each of the invited guests by
the host. He offers tobacco especially for those individuals for whom
he has prepared buckskins and kettles, asking each of them in turn
for life and for victory on the warpath. When he finishes he pours
some tobacco into the fire and some upon the war bundle. All the
persons invited then, in turn, do the same. If the host has any chil-
dren present in the lodge, he has them do the same. Children are
always escorted by the attendant. The host now takes the gourds,
drum, etc., and, remaining in his own place, sings different sets of
songs. As often as he starts a new set, he blows upon his flute. The
songs of the Thunderbird consist of eight starting songs, sung slowly, [533]
six dancing songs, etc. As soon as the dancing songs are begun, all
the men in the lodge come around the war bundle and dance, blowing
the flute, etc. Women may dance likewise, but they must remain in [562]
that part of the tent especially assigned to them.

Before the contents of the kettle are cooked the host sings four sets 776x
of songs. As soon as the first set has been started the attendants get 276
as many pipes as possible and bring them to the war bundle. They
also place there a large pipe with stem directed toward the west and
a large pile of tobacco. These pipes are then passed back to the
various guests in order to be smoked.

After the first set of songs is over the large pipe is taken and lit
by one of the attendants and passed around the lodge, in ceremonial
manner, each member taking a puff and passing it to the next one.
When the songs to the Disease-giver are sung, the pipe is placed
against the center pole with stem directed south. Before the Disease-
giver songs are sung the story of their origin is told. At the end of
the last of the initial songs the old man with tobacco in each hand
says *Ho—o —o —o—!* He then pours tobacco into the fireplace. He is
really presenting it to the Disease-giver. Then dancing songs are [782
used as before. Usually dog meat is put in the kettle designed for 262]
the Disease-giver.

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When the songs of the Night Spirit are sung the stem of the pipe is pointed eastward.

Four songs are sung before the cooking is finished, in honor of the Thunderbird. The feast is then spread, and all those in the lodge smoke and dance. The attendants take the kettles down and take the food out. While the kettles are still on, however, branches of cedar are carried around the lodge to purify it. Before distributing the food, while the singing is still going on, the attendants count the number of people in the lodge and cut the meat into a corresponding number of pieces. As each kettle is supposed to suffice for any one band, a number of small sticks about the size of a toothpick, corresponding to the number of people present in each band, is placed in each kettle. After the last four songs are used the host arises and calls for the kettle that is to be given to the person opposite him. The attendant brings it and tells him how many pieces of meat there are in the kettle. The host then speaks about his intentions in offering the kettle to the spirits; that he is seeking life and victory in war, and that he begs all those present to intercede for him. He then calls for the other kettles. There are generally one or two kettles for the women and children. When the feast is spread out and they all have their food, the host tells them that they may now eat whenever they think proper. He himself does not eat anything, but merely sings, shaking the gourds that he holds in his hand.

The Disease-giver is considered the most sacred of all the spirits, and for that reason all the bones and the plates that have been used in connection with his particular kettle are purified with cedar branches. The host carries these bones out of the lodge himself and buries them under the foot of some tree. He also takes tobacco and red feathers along with him on this occasion. As the other spirits are not considered to be as sacred as the Disease-giver, the bones from the kettles offered to them can be buried anywhere, provided the ground has been purified.

After the first invited guest has finished his meal he rises and thanks the host. He then tells the story of how he, or his ancestor, obtained the war bundle, and assures the host that he feels confident that so great a feast as this in which he is taking part will most certainly be recognized by the spirits. He also adds that inasmuch as he and the other invited guests have partaken of this feast they also hope to receive life and strength in proportion to the blessings bestowed upon the host. The other invited guests, in turn, speak in the same way.

While this is going on the attendants are preparing the kettles for another lot of meat. The whole tent is swept again and purified and the kettles are once more placed upon the fireplaces. The host now rises and, holding tobacco in his hand, informs each spirit of the par-

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junction with the Mississippi. Dr. Evan D. Pierce, of Trempealeau, who was in charge of the park, was much interested in the native flora as well as in archeology, and we made a collection of ninety species then in bloom. Mr. Towne L. Miller, of Fairwater, Wisconsin, Honorary Curator of Archeology of the Museum collected the plants of the region throughout the season, for the Department of Botany.

The Winnebago Indians are found today scattered over the central part of Wisconsin, principally in Marquette, Waushara, Portage, Sauk, Juneau, Adams, Marathon, Wood, Clark, Jackson, and Monroe counties. Wood County with permanent settlements in Arpin, Vesper, Pittsville, Walker, Elm Lake, Dexterville, and Babcock, contains the largest number, about 750. Along the Hemlock River, not far from Pittsville, are found other large settlements of farming Winnebago. In other counties good-sized settlements are located at Neillsville, Wittenberg, Wyeville, Black River Falls, Hatfield, and Tomah. Their Indian agency and school are located at the last mentioned city.

Our chief location during the summer was at A. White's farm, on the Walker Road, six and a half miles south of Wisconsin Rapids. When we arrived, Mr. White was at Kilbourn where many of the Winnebago camp during the tourist season, making baskets and bead work, and taking part in dances and entertainments. Jim Henniger and his wife, our pageant friends, were there, caring for her father, Dave Dekorah, a prominent man in the medicine lodge, who was sick. He afterwards died and was buried in their community graveyard, with Indian ceremony. The Whites made us welcome and we pitched our tent in a grove of white pines not far from their spring. There were several other Winnebago Indians near at hand, including Henry Dick, from Briggsville. Henry is important in the medicine society and immediately made friends with us and started to teach us the Winnebago language. He was especially bitter against the peyote cult, which many Winnebago have embraced, declaring that peyote was worse than whiskey, because a man drunk on whiskey, would be sober the next morning and able to go to work, whereas with peyote, he became "crazy", and would not work for four or five days while under its influence. He further said that the peyote cult worshippers never possess anything, but live on their industrious neighbors who belong to the medicine lodge. These medicine lodge Indians raise potatoes, corn, beans, carrots, hay, grain, hogs and chickens, according to Henry, and would not let their own people starve, but did not like the shiftlessness of the peyote worshippers. He wished he could see the President of the United States to tell him not to let any Indian have peyote. He thinks bad days are coming to the peyote-eating Indians. A few years ago, this cactus drug, most of which comes from Texas, sold for $4.00 a thousand buttons, but the current prices in 1928 were $25 per thousand of number one size; $30.00 per thousand for number two size; and

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$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase.

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains.

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus:

Hianjinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkma hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. W'oshga hashinila manegi* kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *ninck•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc haniwila hunkuwianjc. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana wahicja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipwiwine. Hunkmara nchashinigaja Egi homashjala nchashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi hoishagra nchashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.* and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen.

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A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

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The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

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However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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796 778 other mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik, were respectively placed at the northeast and southeast corners of the bundle.

A peeled stake, forked at the top, was set up at the central western margin of the bundle wrapper. The ceremonial pipe, of Siouan type [276] with a catlinite bowl, was then filled by the leader from the bowl of mixed tobacco and kinnikinnik and placed with the stem end resting in the fork of the stake, the stem slanting diagonally downward across the bundle and the bowl, in upright position, resting on the central eastern margin of the bundle wrapper.

[824 783] The leader then placed some live coals from the fire in a small stove-shovel. On these coals he placed white cedar leaves. With the smoke of the burning cedar leaves he purified the contents of the bundle, his own person, and even the walls of the lodge.

796 534 Shortly before the ceremony was to start, some of the waiters prepared the drum. What had probably been originally designed to serve as a pickle keg, served as the body of the drum. This was partly filled with water. A buckskin head was then placed over the open end and drawn taut by means of cords attached to the base of the body. This was done by means of stick tourniquets in each of the cords. The proper degree of tautness was determined by tipping the drum bottom side up, to permit the water to wet the drum head, and testing the tone quality with the drum stick. After the drum had been thus properly [783] tuned, more hot coals were placed in the censer, cedar leaves applied and the drum and stick turned over and over in the resulting smoke. Then the drum was placed just north of the war-bundle.

A small pot containing two portions of cooked meat was suspended from the roof of the house immediately west of the bundle.

796 Early in the afternoon, all preparations having been completed, the ceremony began. The guests in little groups filed into the lodge and were seated by the head waiter, squatting on mats with their backs to the wall. The most important guests, owners of war-bundles in other clans, [562] were placed nearest the door. The eastern two-thirds of the lodge was occupied by men only. The women were clustered at the western end. Mr. Fisher and I were seated immediately south of the bundle. The leader and three assistants, elected to serve as musicians, were grouped just north of the fireplace.

[182] Although the rites associated with the war-bundle are kept up by a few of these Winnebago, the ritual has sadly degenerated. Aside from the host, no man made any serious attempt to equip himself properly in costume. Many important elements were omitted such as the preliminary sweat bath ceremony, the sacrifice of white buckskins to the spirits, the dog sacrifice, and many minor details left out of the ceremonies attempted. When all were assembled, the leader opened the [537] ceremony with a speech to those assembled. The formal dignity of the speaker and the unhesitating flow of his words were impressive. He

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

announced that he was about to give a feast in honor of Creator, all the spirits of the world above, all the spirits of the world below, and all those spirits who had appeared in dreams to any of those present. In this way, as determined by his grandfathers, should long life, and happiness, and health and success in warfare be assured to those participating. He cited the giving of tobacco to various spirits; the dedication of the cooking meat to various spirits. He called upon other custodians of war-bundles and their waiters, who might be present, to assist in the singing, speaking, and dancing. "O! O!", assented the custodians of other war-bundles who were present.

The drum was now placed before the leader, who passed it to one of his three musicians. The other two and the leader were equipped with gourd rattles. The leader then took a reed whistle and on it actually played a tune very like a bugle call. Three distinct notes were produced by varying the force with which he blew it. He then started a song, his eyes closed as if in prayer, his face stamped with serious devotion. His assistants joined in, to the accompaniment of drum and rattles. A short rest intervalled the completion of this song and the start of the next. Three other songs followed in like manner. All of this music was relatively slow in time and not designed to be accompanied by dancing. A fifth song, of like character, was accompanied by the leader's throwing several pinches of tobacco over the war-bundle.

The next musical contribution was a dancing song and all the men who so desired gathered about the war-bundle, selecting therefrom reed whistles, and danced in place while blowing the whistles. There being not enough whistles to go around, some took fetishes which they held reverently in their hands while dancing. At the same time, the women at the west end of the lodge rose and danced in place. With slight pauses between, four dance songs were so rendered. At the end of each song, the male dancers participated in a series of war whoops. Everyone present apparently experienced a keen delight in this. One old man, blind and so feeble that he could not rise to his feet without assistance, insisted on dancing, without moving from his allotted place by the wall, and added his quavering voice to feebly swell the volume of each battle cry.

When the set of dancing songs was finished, whistles and fetishes were replaced on the bundle and all took their allotted places. Then the leader again spoke, his voice at times quavering with emotion, practically repeating his first speech. Again the honored guests answered with, "O! O!".

The head waiter then took the pipe from its position over the war-bundle, and carried it to the guest seated nearest the door on the south side. While this old man puffed, the waiter hit the contents of the bowl with a stick, placed beside the fireplace for that purpose and lighted

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

796 from the sacred fire. When the pipe was well lit, the waiter carried
276 it to the next man, and so on, passing clockwise about the lodge. Each man puffed several times at the pipe before passing it on. The women
[562] were excluded from participating in this ceremony, as were the leader and his three musicians. The waiters did not actually participate in any part of the entire ceremony, other than in their official capacity.

Before the next song was started, the head waiter carefully cleaned out the pipe, refilled it and placed it again over the bundle. All the tobacco cleaned from the bowl was disposed of in the sacred fire.

This same procedure, from speech to pipe, was repeated four times, although each group of songs was different.

796 Two men were now selected, one representing that group of clans
615 comprising the upper world phratry, the other the lower world phratry.
264 They seated themselves in the center of the lodge with a wooden bowl between them. In this bowl were placed the two portions of meat from the pots suspended from the lodge ceiling. At a given signal, each began to devour his allotted share of the meat as rapidly as possible. The phratry whose side wins in this eating contest will have good luck when next it takes the warpath.

796 The leader then told the dream experience of the original bundle
787 holder and said a few words thanking all for their participation. One of the waiters then proceeded to replace the contents of the bundle, roll it up, tie it and place it against the wall just back of the leader.

796 It was now time for the war-bundle feast, which consisted solely of
574 meat boiled with a few beans. Each pot had been dedicated to a certain spirit or order of spirits, but since these were not materially present to do proper justice to the occasion, the honored guests had to represent them in receiving and disposing of the food. One pot was placed before each of these leaders, and the contents were distributed under his direction to the men of his party. Other meat was supplied for the women and children of the group which he represented. The chief honored guest received the pot dedicated to Creator. On such occasions, one must eat all that is set before him, since the food is consecrated.

574 It should be noted here that Mr. Fisher has certain marked tastes in
114 food. He is not particularly fond of meat of any kind, dislikes beef particularly and dislikes boiled beef the most of all. His predicament can well be imagined, therefore, when a large portion of boiled beef was placed before him with the understanding that none must be wasted. Fortunately, one may broadcast a call for outside help on such occasions without trespassing against the rules of the ceremony. Very piteously, then, did Fisher make his plea to me. Knowing that the night spirit dance with a vegetable feast was to follow, he promised to eat the greater share of the vegetables apportioned to us if I would agree to do double duty on the meat. Out of the kindness of my heart, and also because I prefer boiled beef to boiled dried squash, I agreed to do this. Nor did

6:Oestreich E-5 (ca. 1943) 1944
NP12 Winnebago NP12

mode. The older women still prefer to wear this type of dress, and very often the ensemble includes moccasins rather than shoes on their feet and a blanket draped about their shoulders. Most of the young women, however, dress very much as white women of their own age. 178

3. Another type of cultural change is found in the Indians modifying some aspect of white culture with elements of their original culture to suit their own needs and tastes. This is best illustrated by the trend that religion has followed among a large proportion of the tribe. Some of the Winnebago who have been enticed away from their old religion, and yet were not satisfied with orthodox forms of Christianity, have adopted the Peyote or Mescal Religion which they prefer to call The Native American Church. This did not originate among the Winnebago, but came in from the southwestern tribes about 50 years ago, and has even undergone changes among the Winnebago group. The Peyote religion is basically Christian, stressing the literal acceptance of the Bible and the strict following of Christ's teachings. It, however, embodies the use of a fairly harmless drug, peyote, which when taken in large enough quantities produces visions, so familiar in Indian religions. The use of a small drum, eagle feathers, and ornate rattles, as well as the burning of cedar leaves are included in the night-long ceremonies. This religion might be considered a transitional form between the so-called pagan religion and Christianity, but though it embodies characteristics of both religions, it appears to have reached a definite stabilized form and will probably undergo few changes in the future. 178 195 [276]

4. We also have change completely within the society from old Indian to new Indian traits. The old Indians tell of an original Winnebago language, very ancient and now almost completely forgotten, which has been replaced by a newer, but still very Indian type of language. In recent years the language has undergone other changes, but this is due to white contact. It is strange that the Winnebago of Wisconsin who have been forced to live in scattered groups and in close contact with whites, have maintained their language to a much greater extent than some of the Wisconsin Chippewa or Me- 178 191 [171]

276

[For information on the Peyote Cult, including physiological effects of Peyote, see category 116, pp. 169-202.]

Crashing Thunder

*159 Thus I acted up to the time that I have memory of things.

*159 In those days there were not many white people
221 living near us as to-day. My father went out hunt-
[224] ing continually. The lodge in which we lived was cov-
[345] ered with rush mattings, with reed mattings spread over
[352] the floor. After hunting for some time in one place we would move to another. My father, mother, older sisters, and older brothers, all carried the packs. Thus we would spend our time until the spring of the year and then in the spring we would again move in order
[224] to live near some stream where father could hunt
[136] muskrats, mink, otter, and beaver.

In the summer we always returned to Black River Falls, Wisconsin. Here all the Indians gathered after
[222] they had given their feasts. Then we picked berries. When picking berries my father used to buy me gum
*159 so that I should not be able to eat any of the berries.
[261] I managed however to eat berries and chew gum at the same time. After a while I learned to chew tobacco and then I did not eat the berries while picking them.
● [296] Later on I got to like tobacco very much and I probably used up more money in buying tobacco than would have been the value of the berries had I eaten them.

[187] ing and crying to await the coming of the spirit. Among the Winne-
[593] bago, and probably among many other tribes, it was customary for the parents or grandparents, to prepare the children specifically
[603] for what was likely to happen; to inform them how to recognize the approach of the spirit and, what was more to the point, to teach them how to distinguish a good from a bad spirit.

[2]

1 [i.e, during their quest for a guardian spirit, see P.I, Category 116 -- Analyst]

Names

made chiefs of the Thunderbirds. Then he thought, "I will have some beings live on the earth." So he made four more like himself. Just like the others he made them. They were brothers—*Kunuga, Hcnuga, Hagaga* and *Nangiga*. He talked to them and said, "Look down upon the earth.' So saying he opened the heavens in the place where they were standing and there they saw this earth spread out before them. He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send down with you," he added giving them a plant. "Even I shall never have the power of taking this away from you, for I have given it to you exclusively; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall be glad to accept it and give you in return whatever you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." What he had given them was the tobacco-plant. Then again he spoke and said, "All the spirits that I have created will not be able to take this away from you unless you desire to give it to them, by calling upon them during fasts. Thus only can the spirits get some. And another thing I send with you that you may use it in life, to be a mediator between you and us, whenever you offer anything to the spirits. It shall take care of you throughout life, stand in the center of your dwellings, and be your grandfather." This was the Fire.

Then the four Thunderbirds brought the brothers down to the earth. On their journey down *Kunuga*, the oldest of the four, said, "Brother, when we get to earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him *Chief-of-the-Thunderbirds*, if he is a boy." On and on they came, down toward the earth. As they got near the earth it began to get very dark and then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, I shall call her *Dark*." Then they came to a place called

The Teachings of My Father

lshes very much and which he will offer you. If it is a bulb-medicine keep it to protect your house. Your home will never then be molested by anything evil and nothing evil will enter your house, neither bad spirits, ghosts, disease, nor unhappiness. Now such will be your life if you do as I tell you. Witches will keep away from you. Thus by fasting will you benefit yourself and your fellowmen.

You know that Earthmaker created all the spirits, those that live above the earth, those who live on the earth, those who live under the earth, those who live in the water—all these he created and placed in control of powers. Even the minor spirits Earthmaker placed in control of something. In this fashion he created them and after that, he created us and because we were created last and no further powers were left, he could not put us in control of anything. Then, however, did Earthmaker create a weed and this he placed us in control of. He further told us that none of the spirits he had created would have the power to take this weed away from us without giving us something in exchange. He told us that if we offered him a pipeful of this weed, which we call tobacco, he too would grant us whatever we asked for. Now it so happened that all the spirits came to long for this weed as intensely as they longed for anything in creation and for that reason if, at any time, with tobacco in our hands we make our prayer to the spirits, they will take pity upon us and bestow upon us the blessings which Earthmaker gave them. Indeed so it is, for Earthmaker created it thus.

Fast, my son. If you are blessed by the spirits and then blow your breath upon people who are ill, they will become well. Thus will you help your fellowmen. If you can cure any of your fellowmen of disease, then you will be of even more than ordinary help to them. If you can draw dis-

§9. *My Brother-in-Law's Fasting Experience*

159 Just about this time we moved to the hunting-grounds and I began to fast again. I began to take sweat baths and caused myself to vomit in order to be purged. My father was a good hunter; he was always able to kill many deer and occasionally a bear.

My brother-in-law thought a good deal of me. He was a holy man and a shaman. One day he said to me, "Brother-in-law, I am going to bless you although you will have to fast for it. I was once blessed by four spirits, brothers, called *Good giant-cannibals*. They said that they had never before blessed any one. They promised me that if I ever got into any difficulties they would help me. They blessed me with long life. Now this blessing I will give you. If, for four nights, you fast without a break, these giants will speak to you." Thus he spoke to me. Then he continued, "These four brothers are called *Good-giant, Good-heart, Good-as-he-walks-about, Good-where-he-lifts-his-foot-from*. They lived toward the east, where you will find a promontory. Nothing across the large body of water is too difficult for them to accomplish."

So when I fasted I always offered tobacco to these spirits first. I would cry to these spirits, but I never fasted over night.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[80] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[80] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12
CW 171 795 [534] [270]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																				
	Tsa	W-F	Ow	Do	Kia	Cr 2	Cr 1	Ne	Wa	Ca 2	Ca 1	Ara	Kio	Com	Kit	Ka	Ute
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Star significant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

Crow NQ10
Winnebago NP12 ●

Element	Occurrence																				
	Ute	Pai	Ban	Cam	Bit	Sat	Pai	Pat	Sho	Mic	Oto	Oto	Osa	Ute	Cro	Ara	Tam
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	°(+)	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	°+	−	°+	(+)	−	+
63. Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°65. Decorated with white lines	−	−	−		(−)		−	−	−	−	−	°−	+	−	−	−	−
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	°+	°+	+		+	+
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°−	+	°+	−		+	°−	°−	+	°(+)	°−	+
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	°+	°+	+	°	+	+
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
77. 2 assistants		+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
78. 3 assistants	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
79. 4 or more assistants		−	°−	−	−	+	+	°+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
83. Drums for each singer in turn	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	°+	°−	−	°+	+	°+	−	+	−	−
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	−	+	+	+	°+	+	−	°+	°−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Sits at leader's left	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	°−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	−	+	−	(−)	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+

(Continued on next page)

C W
171
795
796
[276] ●

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP2 ●

Stewart: Washo–Northern Paiute Peyotism 105[A]

Element	Occurrence																				
	MU	AP	OM	KI	ES	UT	WA	HU	CH	IO	OI	ES	WR	DK	TH	ST	ES	OM	HE	PA	UT
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
122. Women sit behind men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
137. Chewed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
149. 4 times	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
150. Worshippers incensed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+

(Continued on next page)

Co
Cr
D
W
171
785
796
[276]
[783] ●

Crow NQ10

W; Nuwbego NP12 ●

Element	Occurrence																								
	UT	E-1	E2	Con	E3	A2	D1	D2	Wa	NoC	O1	O2	ESS	Da	Co	P4	Tu								
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	++								
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	++								
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+								
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+								
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+°(+)	+	−	+	+	+	+								
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	°	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	°+	−	+	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		°−	°+		+	+	+	+		°+	°(+)	°(+)	−	°+	(+)	−	++								
195. Urged not to eat too much			°+								(+)	(+)													
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	°+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+								
197. By women			°+	−	°+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+								
198. Supplicant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		°+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+								
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+								
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+								
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			°+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+								
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+								
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+								
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+								

(Concluded on next page)

C W 171 745 946 [876] ● [912]

Comanche No6
Winnebago NP12 ●

Element	Occurrence																									
	LT	VA	Ch	Cm	Ra	Sy	Ta	Ea	Ma	NC	Ot	Cr	SW	Ho	Ap	Pa	Tm	C	W							
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			121						
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		–	–	–		•	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			245						
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			246						
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	–	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	•	•	+	•	+									
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(–)	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+									
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+		+	+	+	+	+	+									
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+		+		+					(+)									
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+			+	+												
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				–	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+									
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+									
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•	+	–		–	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+									
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•	+	•	+	–	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+									
265a. (See note)																										

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Comanche NO6
Winnebago NP12 ●

27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin). C W 171

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget). 795 796

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

42. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 53. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin). W [824]

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 196 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgᵂeʔ—a Comanche word for "cactus" [Shimkin]. W [276] ●